

*A R with 1st Essay under
Scotland*
Fifth **ESSAY**,

At Removing

1103. 1. 256.
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National Prejudices;

WITH A

REPLY

TO

Some **AUTHORS,**

Who have Printed their Objections against

An Union with *England.*

Printed in the Year M. DC. VII.

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Y A S S A Y

RESEARCHES

WITH

R E P L Y

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166

SOME A. U. T. H. O. R. S.

Who have been taken into consideration

An Unfinished Business



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The PREFACE.

I Confess, the Occasions of my appearing in Print again upon this Subject, are unexpected; and as the writing a Fifth Essay is Contrary to my real Design, and more so to my Inclination, I cannot but say something by way of Introduction to it.

The Management of this present Treaty, I mean, without Doors, has something in it peculiarly odd, and to me very surprizing; Reason and Argument, nay even Demonstration cannot reach it; Men will argue against, nay Banter, and be Witty upon the several Branches, & yet at the end of the Discourse profess, They do not Understand them ----- They will be silenc't, and yet not at all Convinc't; they wont believe, when they cannot reply; when they own, they gain by it, they are not pleased; when they fancy, they are Losers, they are fond of Complaining; and when they can't make it out, rail on those that Endeavour to Confute them.

Words can have no Effect on such Persons, no Argument can touch them; either they Can't, or Won't, Understand any thing but what they like. Bitterness possesses their Souls, and breaks out too much at their Tongues: and I
must

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must tell them, I think, I bear more than my Share of this from them too, and that without Cause.

'Tis hard, Gentlemen, that an Attempt calmly to remove Prejudices (and I am sure, I have done it both Calmly and Cautiously) should fill any Body with Prejudices at the Author. Scotland has been in some Reputation for Courtesy to Strangers, & I should be very sorry, you should break in upon that part of your Character, only with a Reconciler. An Attempt to remove Prejudices, can have nothing in it; unless that the Truths spoken, move the Spleen of some, who would not be reconciled, and therefore cannot bear the Demonstration.

Nor would I be mistaken here, I am far from being Concern'd at the Ribaudry of the Street, calling my Name about to every Ballad, making me the Author of Papers I never saw; when Gentlemen lampoon one another, calling it mine, and the like, this is an old Method taken with me, and I am used to it. ---

My Muse must be the Whore of Poetry,
And all Apollo's Bastards laid to me.

The Gentlemen are wellcome, and the Mob of Writers by all their Witticisms, shall only provoke me to Silence. I remember, and I wish, some other Gentlemen here would take the hint as I do ---- My Lord Rochester advising
My

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My Lord ----- not to reply to Satyr and Lampoon, has these two Merry Lines.

*Fellows that ne'er were Heard or read of,
If thou writ'st on, will write thy head off.*

Others, I am told, are furnishing themselves with Scandal, and Design to answer my Arguments with Personal Reflection.

I thank GOD, my Life, however mixt with Misfortunes, has not been such, that I am asham'd to see it in Print. Nor shall I offer any Capitulations with such Gentlemen, only intreat them for their own Sakes, to say nothing but what is true: ---- and then to add at the Bottom of their Story, what mighty Signification it has to the Argument in hand.

When our Saviour had healed the Man born blind, and he, appearing before the Elders, answered them with a Testimony to the Divinity of the Healer, which they could not reply to, viz. That he must be GOD, since nothing of a Man could ha' wrought such a Cure ----- To answer the Conviction of his Reasoning, they fall upon the Poor Man, Thou wer't altogether born in sin and doest thou teach us ----- and they Cast him Out ----- and yet after all what the Poor Man said, was very true -----

Now Gentlemen, if what I say be true, why will you not hear it? if not true, why will ye not answer it? ----

Let

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Let the Author be never so Despicable or Mean in your Eyes, he is in no Man's meaner than in his Own: but Truth in the meanest Hand, deserves your Regard; Accept the Truth, and use the Author as you like, he is perfectly unconcern'd about that.

But all this does not yet reach the Matter which I Complain of: But I think it hardest, when Gentlemen, who pretend to answer what pinches them in Fact, Charge me with Falsities, wrong representing things & the like, & to make it out, give their own Assertions only, without the least Proof either to make Good their own, or Detect mine.

When Gentlemen reflect on what I have wrote, as not true, and use me ill on that head, at the same time contradicting it, with nothing but what is manifestly false, imposing upon the World their own Affirmative without Proof against Arguments, which are, and can be prov'd by Undoubted and undeniable Authority; this, I must own, is using a Stranger very ill.

I shall give but two or three Instances of this here, and shall meet with the rest as I go.

1st. Here's a Gentleman tells me in Print, That the small Beer in England does pay more than 1 sh. 3. d. per Barrel if sold for above 6 sh: per Barrel; that the Foreign Salt payes 10 sh: per Buskel Custom, that there are Duties & Restrictions on the Export of the English Woollen Manufacture and the like. And this the Gentleman calls a Confuting my Fourth Essay.

Now

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Now as this wants but a short Answer, so that Answer will detect the Gentleman's Ignorance first, and then his forwardness of Charging me without Troof.

'Tis true, the Act of Parliament in England, prescribes the Excise to only two Denominations of Beer, Small and Strong, and that the Small Beer is strictly call'd 6 sh: Beer: and I suppose in Charity to him, that he looked no further than the Letter of the Act.

But if he thinks fit to examine the Practice in England, and the Nature of the thing, he will find three things.

1. That there is no Small Beer sold in England at 6 Shillings per Barrel.

2. That the Household Beer sold in London, and Parts adjacent at 10 sh. per Barrel, and some at 12 sh. per Barrel, pays no more Excise than as Small Beer, viz. 1 sh.

3 d. per Barrel; and of this I can bring him several Witnesses of People of both Nations now here.

3. That by the Nature of the Act, it can be no otherwise, since the Act does not say, all Beer above 6 sh. shall pay as Strong Beer, but the word, Strong Beer, is governed by the Usage of Excise, and is all sold as Ale from 18 sh. per Barrel to above 40 sh.

If it is asked me, Why the Act calls it 6 sh. Beer? I answer, Because, that Act having been made above 30 Tear ago, the Small Beer in those days, was sold at that price; and this Excise being but in two Heads or Denomi-

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nations as before, the Term needed no Alteration, tho' the price of Sale was risen: since it follow'd by the Name of Small Beer, that nothing could pay as Strong, that had not the first Runnings of the Malt.

I need enlarge no further, to prove the justice of my Calculation, or the unfairness of being Charg'd here with Imposing on the World.

The second Case is in the same Gentleman's Paper, who tells me, the Duty on Foreign Salt is 10 s. per Bushel; and to insult me the more, adds, That 'tis by them that know it as well as I.

Now as this shoves the Gentleman's Heat to run before his Discretion, I must tell him, there can be no just Comparison between any Man's Knowledge here, since the Acts of Parl. are plain, in which the Taxes upon Salt are settled, and that there may be no Dispute on the Difference of Measure, the Bushel is Determined to weigh 84 l. weight Avoir du pois, and if he pleases to search the said Acts, and the English Book of Rates, he will find the Duty stands thus.

By the Act 5. and 6. Will. and Mary. Cap. 7. 3 d. per Gallon on Foreign Salt.

7. and 8. William III. Cap. 31. the Duty Continued.

9 and 10. William III. Cap. 44. 7 d. per Gallon, Added.

10 d. per Gallon

10 d. per Gallon.—8 Gallon to the Bushel is 80 d. or 6 s. 8. per Bushel

The Subsidies and Impost formerly laid

amount to ----- 2 d. $\frac{5}{8}$ per Bushel -----

2 $\frac{5}{8}$

6. 10 $\frac{5}{8}$ or thereabout.

Either I am Right or wrong: if wrong, let the Acts of Parliament decide that Controversy; if I am Right, ----- then this Gentleman and his Author, who, he says, knows it as well as I, have something more to account for to the world, than an honest Man cares to be charg'd with: and if I had used him so, I would frankly ask his Pardon.

As to the Duties and Restrictions on the Woollen Manufacture in England on Export, the 36 Minute of Parliament has answered and confuted it for me, ----- I need say nothing in my own Vindication after such an Authority, only recommend it to the Gentleman himself to consider, whether he has used either me or his Country honestly.

A

A Fifth ESSAY, &c.

IN the last Essay, I went thro' a great many Branches of the Popular Objections raised in *Scotland*, against the Union. --- I wish I could exactly distinguish between those that Men raise only to oppose the Thing in General, and prevent the Uniting the Nations *on any Terms whatever*, and those which are really offered from honest Scruple at the Particulars.

However, whether I can distinguish them in their Arguments, or no; I shall distinguish them as well as I can in the following Discourse, in which I shall have all due regard to honest Reasoning and fair Argument, but not so much to Cavil and Frivolous or Malicious Opposition.

I little thought it had been possible that any *Scots-man*, at least such as understand the Affairs here, could say, That *Scotland* does not gain by *England* in Trade, much less that you do, or can Trade abroad with equal Advantages to other Nations.

I could not imagine any Man would offer that it is your Advantage to Trade with *France*, where you bring back nothing but what drains you of Money, and send little thither but what you ought to keep at Home.

Less was it to be expected, that Men should publish in Print, that your Trade will be ruin'd by an Union with *England*.

Wherefore to all these Heads, I shall say something as plain and Concise as I can, if possible, to remove the Prejudices which are form'd in the Heads of the Ignorant, as if on Purpose to set them in the light of your future Advantages.

But before I come to this, I must say a Word or two to a mighty Champion, that has undertaken from my own Writing in another Case, to overthrow the very Foundation of the present Treaty, and setting D. F. against D. F. Demonstrates, as he thinks, that the Parliament of *Scotland* has no Power to enter upon this Treaty, nor go on with it without the Consent of their Constituents that Choose them.

And to do this, he Quotes a long Part of a Book wrote some time since in *England*, Entitled, *The Original Right of the Collective Body of the People of England Vindicated and Asserted*, in Answer to Sir *Humphra Mackworth's* Book, Called, *A Vindication of the Commons of England, &c.*

In this Book I lay down Four Maxims of Government, which this Gentleman Quotes, at large.

Now 'tis so strange a thing, notwithstanding all this, That these Gentlemen should bring this Quotation to prove the want of Power in the present Parliament of *Scotland*, to enter upon the Union, that I must own I never saw any thing fetcht so remote in Argument in my Life.

If any Man therefore please but to Examine two things, he will see thro' all this Cloud of Cavil, and soon distinguish the Case.

All that this long Quotation amounts to, is sum'd up in this, That all Government being constituted for the Publick Good, all the Parts of Government Ceasing to Act for the Publick Good, cease from the same Publick Capacity in which they were Constituted, the end of their Authority being Destroyed.

This

This only then leads us to Examine, whether the present Parliament of Scotland are Acting for the Publick Good, or no, and I shall be very glad to join Issue with any Body on that Head.

The other Case quoted, refers to Parliaments making Laws against Reason, Nature, or the Divine Law. --- And had the Author here quoted me fairly, he would have gone on and show'd an Instance I gave to explain the rest,

Viz. If the People of England find their Representatives going about to betray the Religion and Liberties of their Country, what the said People by the Laws of Reason, Nature and Religion ought to do? And to Illustrate this, I gave Instances of the Parliament in England alternately Re-establishing to Day Popery, to Morrow the Protestant Religion; to Day one King, to Morrow another; to Day declaring Queen Mary Legitimate, and Queen Elisabeth a Bastard; to Morrow Queen Elisabeth a Legitimate, and Queen Mary a Bastard; and from thence I argued to the Subversion of Justice and Corruption of the Laws in these Cases; I think all I have advanced there very Just and Plain, and I never yet heard it objected against.

But with Submission to this Gentleman's Understanding, all this proves nothing in the Case before us, unless it be also made appear, That the Parliament of Scotland is acting something against the Laws of God, Nature or Reason, subverting the Laws, Corrupting Justice, Oppressing the People whom they should protect, and betraying the Trust reposed in them by their Country, and thus we are just where we were before.

Indeed the Drift of my Author, appearing plainly at last, to Declare it self for a League with France, and consequently a Restoring some body, who *this Nation, I believe, had much*

better be without, it requires no further Reply than this, and therefore I leave it.

I frankly own the Position, this Person Quotes, (*viz.*) *Of the People collectively considered, having a Right to oppose any constituted Body of Government, Suppressing and Betraying their Fundamental Right.*

But I do not see any thing infer'd from hence, unless it be first proved, That the Treaty now on foot, *is a Betraying the Fundamentals of their Country, Overthrowing and Subverting the Laws, Perverting and Corrupting Justice, and a General Enslaving the People.*

Much I know has been Talkt of, to prove these things, but with so little Reason, and on such Weak Foundations, that I think, I need say no more to it, till Mr. H---s or some Body for him, Refutes *The Scheme of the National Right of Parliament asserted in the last Tract.* --- Wherein I have, to the best of my Judgment, Described it; and shall willingly Recant it, when I find it not able to consist with Justice and Reason.

But before I dismiss this Article, and that I may give this Gentleman full scope for his Argument, I offer to prove, That tho' the Foundation he lays down were Just, *which 'tis plain is otherwise*, yet the Inference would not hold in this Case.

For Example, suppose (which yet I by no means grant) That the People who are the Constituents of Parliament, were so far Judges of the actions of Parliament, as to have a Right to give them Instructions; and as a Worthy Author has it among the rest of his wise Sayings, to Address the Parliament *COMMANDING them not to proceed, &c.*

Two things must necessarily follow upon this most Important Supposition.

- i. That these People so Limiting the Parliament, must be such, *and only such*, as have a Right of Election, for they only can Direct their Representatives who have a
Right

Right to be Represented, and they only have a Right to be Represented, who have a Voice in the Election of a Representative.

Thus, there are all your *Glasgow* Armies Disbanded, and turn'd Rebels at once, and all your *Dumfries* Protestors with their Troops of Horse and Armies of Foot, such only excepted as have a Right to Vote in an Election.

2. Of those who have a Right of Voting in Election, the Right of Contraveening the Actions of the Members, must depend at least on the Majority of them; *some are of the Opinion*, it must have every Individual in an Action of such moment: But this is certain, it must have a Majority, and this Majority must include the Nobility too, who are not Represented, but sit in Person; and how shall it appear, that this Majority are in the Persons now Addressing?

Let us Examine the Probability of it, for a certain Examination I believe impracticable now; but as to Probability when shall we see it.

Some of the Addresses have been Signed by 6, some 7, 10, 12 hands, only to assist in the Clamour. Are these the Majority of the Electors in the Shires or Towns? some have more, but 'tis where the Proportion is much greater.

Let us take it in the Address of the Burghs, which has been often calculated, and take the Burghs that refused to Address, and these that did not think it worth while to appear, and the Majority against the Addressers, is by the Proportion of *their Cess* as 86 to 14. Nay, suppose all those that did not appear to be Affirmatives, tho' that be altogether improbable, and that they would have been for the Address, yet the Proportion had been as 31 to 69.

But if *the Rate of the Cess* be not a just Estimate of the Value of the Burghs, *tho* I can prove it was the Original of their
Right

Right of being Burghs; then I refer to any Man to calculate the Inhabitants and Number of Free-men in each Burgh, and he will find the 20 Burghs that refused to address, have more Inhabitants in them than both the 24 that address'd, and the 22 that were absent, the City of *Edinburgh* excepted.

And where now is the Majority? and how shall a Parliament regulate themselves by this Method? For here a Majority of the Shires (*suppose it was so*) address against the Union, and a Majority of the Burghs are for it; now take the Minor Part of the Freeholders, and the Major Part of the Burroughs, and draw a just Proportion of Members in the House, I mean of Representatives, and add these to the great Number of the Lords who are for the Union, and who are not represented at all, and I dare say, the Majority would appear for the Union.

To take it another way, divide the Freeholders in *Scotland*, and place the Numbers of either the Representing or the Represented by the Value of their Estates, for the Original of all depends upon the Freehold; I dare say, including the Nobility, two Thirds of the Freehold of *Scotland* belong to such as are for the Union.

I care not to enter into Invidious Comparisons, as the more exact Calculating such things as these must necessarily come to; I leave it to those that please to examine further into the Majority: I am perswaded, if these People will have the Majority of the Freeholders of *Scotland* be against the Union, they must, as *Mr. Hodges* does, draw the Ladies into the Party; and if they are against it, as some say, the Reasons they give are too light for this Discourse.

I think this Estimate of probable Majorities as just as may support my Arguments; I'll submit them to any Man that can confute them.

As

As to all the rest of the People of Scotland, who have no Right to elect Representatives, I affirm, and think the nature of the thing demonstrates it, They can have no Right to direct those who they have no part in constituting.

And here all the People drawn in to sign Addresses to the Parliament against the Union, so far as the Members are to be bound by these Addresses, are meddling with what they have no Right to be meddling with, nor are any way concerned in.

But besides all this, suppose *SOME RIGHT* of limiting the Proceedings of Parliament by their Constituents, and the Majority in one Place addresses them against an Union, and the Majority of other Places addressed for it or acquiesced, which is the same thing, What Confusions, what intolerable Exigencies and Labyrinths must this run the Parliament into? and when should any thing be resolved, which tho' of never so great Concern, had so much Difficulty in it?

I leave this here, with this short Remark on it, That I do not see, *tho' the Constituent had Power to restrain the House*, that by any Estimate which can be yet made, a Majority has yet appear'd willing to do so; if there was a Majority, it does not appear they had a Right to do it, unless what the Parliament was doing, was in it self destructive of the Laws, Liberties, Religion or Property of the People, or subverting their Essential Privileges; and therefore hitherto the Parliament have been Regular in their Proceedings, and Wiser than to regard the Clamours of Tumultuous People, not qualified to interrupt them.

The further Designs of this Author discovers the more naked part of the Design, *viz.* Uniting, or at least Confederating with Popish and French Tyranny ---- And I cannot but observe here, how those People are pleasing themselves with that small Advantage of Trade to France, and magnifying them

(8)

them to unusual Hights, *tho' tis plain the Returns from thence are all to your Dammage in general*, and at the same time the Trade to *England*, the Returns of which now are chiefly in Money, and after the Union must be more so, are disparag'd, lessen'd and reduced to nothing.

The Author of this Book is honest in this, whatever he is in other things, and owns his Drift is a Treaty not with *England*, but with *France*.

I should have entred further into his Disputes of the much better Treaty with *France* than *England*, if I had not been happily prevented by a Book, which appears just while I am writing this, entitled, *The Advantages of Scotland by an Incorporate Union, &c.* In which he is so fairly confuted, and the Argument handled so clearly, that it would be an Injustice to the Gentleman that wrote it, tho' I know not who he is, not to acknowledge that he has done his Country Justice, and the Argument too; and I believe will not be replied to in haste.

After what has been there said, I shall not so much as think my self able to say any thing fit to be added; and shall always let the World see, that whether I know when to speak or no, I always know when to hold my Tongue.

But I cannot quit this Discourse, without drawing one Inference from all these things. *viz.* That in all these Debates, and however different the Opinions of some People are from others in that matter of the Union, -- I know not by what concurrence of Causes it happens, but this seems to be the general Concession of all the contending Parties, *viz.* That *Scotland* is not in a condition to Subsist, or at least to Flourish by Her self. -- That She seems under some necessity to Unite or Confederate some where. --- And so the Debate, is not whether She shall Unite with some body or no, but whether She shall Unite with this or that, with *England*, *France*, *Holland*, or who?

It

If I were a *Scots* Man, or if you could bear with Plainness and Truth from a Stranger, that strives to speak impartial Truth, and has not one Shilling to gain or lose, let it go which way it will --- I would ask some of these Gentlemen, Whether they have considered their National Circumstances as to *England*, and examin'd not how they could break with *England*? For I am not a going to insult *Scotland* --- But in what Posture, as to Trade, *Scotland* would be upon an universal Prohibition between *England*, *Ireland* and *Scotland*.

'Tis true, there is a kind of Prohibition already as to *England*: You have prohibited almost all the Manufactures, and take nothing from them you can well be without ----- But they have not yet treated you so; they have not return'd you *in kind*. I would ask these Gentlemen, How they would look, and in what Condition, as to Trade and ready Money, *Scotland* would be, if there were equal Prohibitions and an universal Stop of Trade between the Nations, that neither your Cattle nor Linnen was admitted there; the Return of which is now wholly in Cash.

Some Gentlemen have said, You can do without it, and perhaps you may: Come, Gentlemen, let us examine how.

Why first these Gentlemen say, *France* will take off your Wool, Lead, Salmond and Herring --- Well, Gentlemen, and what will they give you for it? --- Wine, Brandy, Fruit, Silk, Toys and Trinkets. I won't engage here with the Gentlemen, and disoblige the Men of the Bottle so far, as to make a Calculation of the wondrous Advantages of Wine and Brandy, and how much they contribute to the Wealth of the Nation; and therefore I leave that Debate, only this I must say, That your Import every Year exceeds your Export; and if this Trade is to encrease your Wealth and People, it will still encrease your Consumption; and you must pay *France* the Over-plus in specie, and so promote the Manufacture of

Drunkennes at the Price of the Consumption of your Bullion.

But then as to Wool, 'tis own'd *France* will take little Wool, if any of your own Growth, at least not without *English* Wool with it --- And if effectual Care is taken to prevent the Export of that Wool from *England*, I suppose you will find a Decay there --- And if you oblige *France* to take your Fish, and cannot supply them with Wool, you must make them Amends some other way; as perhaps by filling their Armies with *Scots* Troops, and sending your Gentlemen into their Service. So exporting your *Scots* Blood by their Gallantry and Courage, help *France* to pull down the Protestant Religion, and enslave *Europe*, of which Bondage you must at last come in for a share.

But next to this says another Gentleman, we may export our Linnen to *Spain*, and our Beef to the *Canaries* and *Madera*.

For the first, so you may, if you please, with an Union as well as now: So that whatever you gain of Export to *England*, is all as clear as it was before; for you may make enough for both Trades, if you please, and consequently employ more People in the Work, more Land in the Planting, and so the Trade to *Spain* is just as it was, and receives no manner of Alteration.

For the sending Beef to the *Canaries*, &c. I suppose the Gentlemen that have been so forward in that Argument, have never been at, or have never Traded to those Islands, otherwise they would not offer such odd kind of Proposals: And to shorten them, I discreetly would revise their Calculations, and compare them with the following Circumstances, and then I perswade my self they will have Honour enough to change their Sentiments.

1st. *England* in the Year 1699 took from *Scotland* in Trade, and for which they paid ready Money,

31608 Head of Black Cattel.

25470 Sheep.

Over and besides the Number of both sorts, which are secretly conveyed over the Borders, and which is impossible, the Tract of Land being so great, can by any Vigilance of Officers be prevented; which some say amounts to as many more, but all agree, are a very great Quantity.

Now I would be glad to know, where the Gentlemen would export this Quantity of Cattel.

1. As to the *Canaries* and *Madera*, the Inhabitants are few, the Flesh they eat little; and if they were to have all the Beef they buy from *Scotland*, they would not take off 5000 Bullocks or Beeves a year.

2. They have *New-England* and *New-York*, from whence they are supplied with Pipe-staves, which ly so much nearer to them; and from whom they are supplied with Beef and Pork, so cheap, that I wonder how these Gentlemen could think of those Places to sell thirty thousand Black Cattel a year in.

If they could sell those Cattel, where would they sell the Returns? *Madera* Wine they could not dispose of any where, and of *Canary* but a small Quantity, without Help of *England*; and Silver is not to be had in those Islands: Which way they would either make their Returns, or get Loading back for their Ships, is a Mystery past any Man's Understanding.

4. But were all these Difficulties over, had those Islands no Flesh from the Continent of *America*, had *Scotland* a vent at home for 20 Ships Load of *Canary* and *Madera* Wine to secure their Ships a back Freight. --- Yet at last, I say, they could not Sell ten Barrels of Beef a year, in either *Canaries* or *Madera*, --- And I think the Reason is plain.

The *Irish* Beef is so much Better, so much Cheaper, and their Shipping and Sailing so much Easier, that they would

be able to out-sell them there, reckoning Value and Price above a hundred *per Cent*: --- Now to make this out, I shall not give the Reader the trouble of Calculations, only let him know, that the best *Irish* Beef, Large and Fat, not to make Comparison, has been to be had at *Kinsale*, *Cork* or *Galloway*, for under 6 *sh. per* Hundred weight, for some years past, that is to say, for very little more than half penny *Sterling per lib.* and I leave the Calcule to any Body that please to make it.

While this is so, I must take leave to say, neither *England* or *Scotland*, nay, nor *New-England*, or *New York*, can come into that Trade.

Then the *Irish* Selling their Beef to *English* Merchants, and sending it in *English* Bottoms, can carry the *Madera* Wines to the Islands, or bring the *Canarie* Wines to *England* in the same Ship; this the *Scots* can never come up to without an *Union*: and I appeal to all the World, for the Truth of Fact in this particular.

Where the Gentlemen then will dispose of 30000 to 50000 of Black Cattel to Ballance the *English* Trade, I know not.

I Recommend this Thought, to those Gentlemen who are so very warm for Draw-backs upon Beef Exported for Sale; and I would be glad, they would tell us, to what place of the World the whole Island of *Britain*, sends 10 Last of Beef in Seven Year for Sale; and if so, why they will Clog the Treaty with such Demands. ---

I come next to the Linnen, You have in the Publick account of the Exports of Linnen, to *England* and other parts, above 1800000 Ells of Linnen carried out of *Scotland*, in one year.

This may be all sent to *Spain*, they say; suppose that were true, tho' as to quantity I question it, yet since the *English*, as every body knows, have sent none of this to *Spain*, the War having Stopt that Trade; then if the *Scots* can send so much to *Spain*, they yet lose the Sale of so much more in *England*.

So

So that here is above 800000 Ells of Linnen, 31608 Black Cattle, and 25240 Sheep, left on your hands, by rejecting the *English Trade*; and all the ready Money they bring with them now, kept out of the Kingdom, upon a breach with *England*.

I would be glad to see these Gentlemen, offer some of their Equivalents for this, for an Equivalent, *as much as they banter that poor Word*, must be had some where, or else it will be worse. --- Above all, I wait for their *French Equivalent*, and the account of the Return they would make from *France*, for their Fish, Lead and Wool. --- I suppose, they will not expect to send Linnen to *France*. ---

While I am Writing this, I am presented with a Book Intituled, *A Letter concerning the Consequences of an Incorporating Union, in relation to Trade*.

I confess it is a wonderful Book, & partakes of the rest of the Miracles of this Age, wherein Arguments are raised out of contradicting Systems, to Prove and Disprove what Men please. I must own, I think the Author of this Book, seems to be in a Plot for the Union, and that by laying down Arguments, that even the Gentlemen, who have Declared against the Union, have too much Sense than to make use of, he would confound the Debate with Absurdities and Contradictions, and argue People into it by showing them a heap of Ridiculous Arguments against it.

I can not satisfy my self, to waste either my own time or the Reader's, with entering into his manifold weighty Reasons, but I'll repeat a few of them.

1. He tells us, That all Trade is Exchanging one Commodity for another, for the Convenience of Life and the supplying Nations with what their Neighbours have, which they want.

In prosecuting this, he is merry on the *English Trade*, and thinks he banters those who say 'tis Advantageous to *Scotland*, since, says he, we shall only get one Commodity for another.

With-

Without running his length, I shall bring it to a short head. His notion of Trade by Exchanges is Right enough, only that he forgot to say, That where any Nation has more want of Foreign Goods, than She has Goods of her own to purchase them with, She must make up the Value in Money.

On this turns the whole State of the Question, and the Gentleman was in the right to forget it, for it would have overthrown all his System.

Money is an Intrinsic, plac'd as a Medium in the Center of Trade, to supply the differences in Value, between the Export and Import of one Nation to and from another.

This is what we call Ballance of Trade, a thing many People talk of, tho' few understand.

That Nation only can be said to Gain by another, who send more Value in its own Product to that other Nation, than is receiv'd from it. because the Ballance must be made good in this Intrinsic, called *Specie*.

From hence 'tis a certain Maxim in Trade, That whatever any Country can part with of its own Growth and Product, is so much clear Gain to the publick Stock of that Nation.

Whatever any Nation wants of the Growth and Product of another Nation, is so much Dead Loss to the Publick Stock of that Nation.

And the Consequence is Natural, that which a Nation partswith, or wants most in those Terms, Gains or Loses just so much in the General Ballance of Trade.

These are things too plain to need Repetition, and had not this Gentleman forgot this, whether wilfully or no, I do not determine, he would have never said at first, *That Scotland does not want the English Money, &c.* I say every Nation wants to Export all the Product of their Country they can spare, and all the Product of their Peoples Labour they can spare;
and

and every Nation wants their Neighbours Money for their Product, because every Nation wants *in the Language of Trade* to be Gainers.

And therefore to Export the People, instead of the Labour of the People is by the way, letting out the Life-Blood of a Nation: but of that by it self.

It remains therefore for this Gentleman, to tell us on a fair Examination, not whether you want the *English Trade*, or no, now, or after the Union; but whether you gain Money by it or no, let any one tell me, whether you Gain by it or no? I'll tell him whether you want it or no. ---

To find out this I shall come to his own worthy Argument *Pag. 6* ---

'We shall Import into *England* (says he) all our Commodities; as to the Word *free of Duties*, I'll speak to it by it self. --- But he goes on, We send Linnen Cloth into *England*: What shall we get in return? Why Woollen Cloth, or what else the Persons that sell the Linnen think they can get most by at Home. --- And from hence this worthy Gentleman concludes, *Here can be no Gain to Scotland*.

Now I'll only state the Case on a Supposition, which I think no Man can deny me.

Suppose *Scotland* sends Linnen Cloth to *England*, to the Value of 200000 *per Annum*, and the Persons that sell it there, can sell but 100000 *l.* in the Woollen return. --- What must the Merchant bring Home? And how must *England* pay for the Linnen? --- Must it not be in Money, and Who is the Gainer?

From hence I leave it to the Reader to Calculate, *Scotland* has sent 1828415 Ells of Linnen to *England* 31608 Black Cattel, 25420 Sheep in one Year, Pray what returns have they fetcht for this Trade? not VVoollen Goods, I believe any Body will grant..

grant. Who then has been the Gainer in that Year of Trade, *Scotland* or *England*?

The Objection that this is before the Union, is not to the Purpose for after the Union, your Export may be Double in Coal, Salt, Corn and Wool, your Linnen double, and the like.

Then it will remain to ask, How is it possible *Scotland* should consume a Quantity of Woollen Goods from *England* equal to this, you having both Wool and Manufactures of your own proportioned? 'tis impracticable, and where then all the rest of your Export must be supplied, is another of this Author's Unaccountables.

But says he, It is pretended *Scotland* must Export the *English* Goods again to the Plantations: This makes Good what I said before, That he offers this to Banter the Opposers of the Union, and bring them in talking ridiculously, on purpose to expose them.

For no Body ever but himself, pretended that *Scotland* should Trade to the Colonies with *English* Goods; that were to make it a Trade and no Trade to them, turn them into meer Pedlars, or Second-hand Chap-men, and to put a Banter upon the Colonies, to think they should send to *Scotland* for *English* Manufacture, when at the same time, they Trade to *England* directly.

And why pray cannot *Scotland* Trade to the Colonies with her own Product, and the Labour of her own People? Her Linnens, her low priz'd Woollens are as vendible, and as much wanted there, as any *English* Goods what ever, and she wants no quantity.

Her Returns for these are, *First*, The imployment of her Shipping and Seamen. *Secondly*, The Product of the Plantations, which she now buys in *England*, and bringing which from

from the Colonies, will encrease the Ballance between *England* and *Scotland* still higher.

But says the Author, You cannot dispose of the Sugars and Tobacco; and if you send them Abroad, you get nothing but Linnen from *Holland*, or Lace from *Flanders*, or Naval Stores from the East. --- Very good. Do you want these things or no? If you do not, you wont Import them; if you do, you will Import them, and unless you can pay for them in Goods, you must in Money: So that still the Advantage of Exporting your Tobacco and Sugar is equal to Exporting your own Product; because it either returns you directly in Money, or saves you sending your own Money abroad, which is letting the Nation bleed in the Vitals.

Thus, with Submission to this Gentleman, bringing things back to first Principles, will unravel all this Clue of Knotty Argument, and if I Mistake not, will discover the Nakedness of it more than sufficiently to the World.

The same Author, to Answer an Objection of the *Scots* Working Cheaper than the *English*, has this further Deep Consideration, That either the *English* must come down to our low Wages, or the *Scots* must come up to their high Wages; and therefore the *Scots* Manufactures cannot be Cheaper than the *English*.

Now to make this out, I desire, he would be pleased then to reconcile the following Heads to his Maxim, That *Scotland* shall not get by the Trade.

First, He says, The Workmen will certainly Live where they can get most for their Labour, That I grant him readily.

Now, If the *English* should be forced to be brought down to the low Wages in *Scotland*, it must be, that they see the *Scots* fall so heartily into their Manufactures, Undersel and
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and Underwork them, that if they do not sink the Price too, they shall lose their Trade. Or,

Secondly, If the Scots come up to the high Wages of England, the poor People will live here, as well as they do in England, and the Trade will be in Proportion Greater; and I will be Content to hear, which of these Consequences will be a Damage to Scotland.

But now, Gentlemen, more Wonders are arriv'd, and the Strangeness to me is very Great, I Confess, except that 'tis true that Miracles are not Ceased, and this is very Particular.

First, He says, and introduces it with an *I AFFIRM* the Scots can be no Gainers by the Freedom of their Trade to the Plantations; Nay, if the English would give the Scots all their Plantations, they would be no Advantage to them.

Secondly, The English gain nothing by the Plantations themselves, nor have they been ever any Gain to them.

This wretched Stuff is follow'd by another, That bringing home Naval Stores, can be no Advantage to you; because building or employing Ships, will be no Advantage, only Dispeopling your Country.

I need but name these things to the World, they are certainly done to Banter the Cause; the Man is certainly pleading for the Union, it cannot be otherwise:

But mark the Foundation on which all this is Built, is, England gains by no Foreign Trade, only gains by her Manufactures.

And how could we Gain by our Manufactures, if there was not a Foreign Trade to Vent them?

But we Gain nothing, but what is returned in unperishable Commodities, - - Allow that now, --- Why then, we have Gain'd

Gain'd all the ready Money in *England*, all the Plate, all the Bullion, all the Iron, Brass, Steel, or Metals imported.

All the Moveable Stock of the Nation, is clear Gain to it, be it in Ships Buildings, Furniture, Stores, Wares, &c. How have they Gain'd all this? it must be by Trade, and the Personal Estates in *England*, such as Houses, Ships, Goods, Cattel, Plate, Jewels, Money, &c. are computed at much more than the Value of the Fee simple of all the Land at 100 Years Purchase.

But I'll tyre you no more with this Miserable Stuff, pray, Gentlemen, pardon me the Freedom I take with this Author, and do not think I imagine *Scotland* can be capable of such Nonsense; I am very well assured, this is another *English* Author, and that this Book came from *England*, it tastes both of the Spirit, the Temper and Understanding of some Gentlemen there, who set up to Instruct you here, in what you know better than they.

But now, Gentlemen, to come Home to your own Trade with *England*, either as it is, or as it may be with or without an Union.

If an Union go on, 'tis alledg'd you shall have higher Customs than you have now. --- To this the Resolution of your Committee is a full Reply, in which they tell you, how all the Customs of *England* which shall expire at 1710, being deducted, your Customs Rated on the present Export and Import of *Scotland* shall be less than they are now, by 150000 *l.* Scots per Annum, besides upwards of 220000 *l.* Scots taken off from your Manufactures when Exported to *England*.

This, I think, has in a manner silenc'd the Gentlemen, that throng'd the Town with their Calculs of Customs rising upon you, as something else has done about the Re-payment of the Equivalent.

The Trade lying thus, let me state it two ways.

'Tis evident by the Report of the Persons employ'd by the Government to calculate this, that your Exports to *England* now without an Union, amount to 200000 lib. Sterling per *Annum*.

No Man has yet ventur'd to say, That you make any Returns from thence that bear a Proportion to this, --- all their Manufactures being prohibit. But because I would give all reasonable Allowance, I am content to suppose, that you receive from *England* in Goods 50000 lib. per *Annum*. I'll suppose, that the Noblemen and Gentlemen of *Scotland* in their Expenses, and the Fine Things they buy there, spend 50000 lib. more, tho both these Sums exceedingly out-do the Probability of the thing.

But this being allowed, then 'tis yet true, that *Scotland* gets 100000 lib. per *Annum* in Money from *England* by Trade; how she would make her self Amends for that Loss by a Trade to *France*, I can see no room to find out: And for a Trade to *Spain*, She has it with the Trade to *England*, and may enlarge it as she thinks fit; and *England* will help, not hinder Her to enlarge it.

If then you get 100000 lib. per *Annum* by *England*, 'tis a good Trade without an Union: Let's now examine if the Union will make it greater or less; and upon this the whole State of the Case will turn.

First, We are told here, that after the Union, the *English* Woollen Manufactures will throng in upon *Scotland* --- And tho' I think 'tis your own Fault, if you do not make all the same you do now, and both better and cheaper: yet for discourse sake, suppose you to buy the *English* Woollen Goods; pray what Goods shall you send to *England* then, more than you do now?

If then after the Union, you shall send more Goods to *England*, over and above the Quantity you now send, than you shall

shall receive from thence, over and above what you now receive, you are still more Gainers than you were before.

And first, I am to suppose, that all the Import of Tobacco, Sugar, Ginger, Dye-stuffs, &c. which come from the *West-Indies*, shall be taken off from the Debit of your Import from *England*, since either you will have them directly from thence, and in return for your own Manufactures and Money to boot, or you must be much weaker in your pursuing your own Advantages, than I take ye to be.

If you imported 50000 lib. *per Annum* in Goods from *England*, I believe, a full half of that Sum is made up by those kinds of Goods, with which we are supplied from *England*.

To encrease this Trade to *England*, I come to ask a few Questions, which I would be glad to hear any Body answer.

1. How many Coals shall go away yearly from the Firth of *Edinburgh* to *England*, when 7 *sh.* and 6 *d.* Duty is taken off by the Union, and they as cheap here as at *New-Castle*; and 5 *sh.* *per Chalder* always above them at *London*? I assure you, when I have said, it shall amount to 100000 Chalder, I have been blam'd, as not guessing above half the Quantity.
2. How many Weigh of Salt, of which some say 20000 Wey? I am content to say half that Quantity, and I dare say, it shall not fall short of that.
3. What Quantity of Corn shall go to *England* yearly, especially that we call *Horse-Corn*, such as *Oats*, *Beans* and *Pease*, which always yield a good Price at *London*, and much more than in *Scotland*? If this Article does not amount to 100000 *l.* *per Annum* more, then I have no guess at what *Scotland* can part with of those Sorts; for I am free to say, If they will send them to *England*, they will always buy them there, and at a good Price.

4. *The Wool*, and now we come to a great *Question*, What Amends will be made to *Scotland* for the loss of the *Wool Trade*, and the difference of Price, between the *Wool* after the Prohibition, and what it is now, when we Export it Abroad.

To this I Answer, Sinking the Price indeed is the Immediate Consequence, but the present Exporting it has several attending Circumstances, which I conceive are not sufficiently considered, by those who are so angry at this head.

1. The present Price of *Wool*, for which the *Sheep-Masters* claim a Satisfaction, is not an Original; the first Exporting the *Wool Raised* it, and stopping that Export, is only Checking the Exorbitant Gain they make now, at the Price of their Country's Ruin, and bringing them back where they were before.

2. 'Tis a Trade Destructive to Industry, Ruinous to Manufactures, and tends to Robbing the Poor of their Employment; as is evident in your Exporting it to the *Baltick*, and the North; where, if they had not your *Wool*, they must Buy your coarse Manufactures, and certainly Buy the less of the one, by how much the more they get of the other.

3. If you will not work your *Wool* at home, tho' that is certainly your Advantage, especially, when you may then have *English Wool* freely to mix with it.--- Still you may send it all to *England*, who opens their Doors to all the *Wool*, the whole World thinks fit to send them.

If it be Objected, they will not give the Price you get for it Abroad? I Answer, They will give, what you had better take than the Foreign Price, and what you shall get as much by.

Suppose I have 100 Packs of *Wool* at *Edinburgh*, 50 Packs I'll send to *France*, or to *Sweden*, or where you like, and for that I'll get 10*£*. per Stone; 50 I send to *England*, and for that I get but

but 5 *l.* per Stone; yet I say, I had better send to *England* than Abroad. For Example,

First, I run the Risque of the Sea *On-ward* bound, next the Risque of Factors and Buyers *Abroad*. 2. I pay Freight and Commission Abroad. 3. The Risque is Repeated back again on the Sea. --- And lastly, All this, at least, Implies the Stock six Months in time.

If I think fit to Trade to *England* for Wool, I can always Sell it, and always Sell it for Ready Money, and may if I please, make 12 Returns of my Money, in that 6 Months time which I take in one Voyage the other way; and in doing this, I run no Risque at all, and have my Money in my hand every time.

If it be Objected, The price to the Wool-Master is low. I Answer, *England* will give as much for yours, as for their own in proportion to its Goodness. --- If yours is not so good as some of theirs, it is better than others, and still you have Neighbours Fair and Right Dealing.

I could run out here, and not Unprofitably perhaps tell you, That the Badness of your Wool in *Scotland*, is not owing either to the Climate; the Soil, the Nature of the Grass, or any of those Circumstances the Flegmatick Fancies of some People Suggest, which some, tho' they care not to hear other Folks Mention, are forward enough to mention themselves.

I could take the liberty to tell these Gentlemen, and perhaps make it out too, That the Courseness of the Wool here, is owing to the ill Husbandry of the People, not the Inclemencies of Nature; and that they are too forward to Injure their own Country, and load her with the Effects of their own Inexcusable Negligence; and this both in the Miss-using the Sheep that breed this Wool, and spoiling the Wool with Tar, Grease, and horrible foolish Applications to it, when it is on the Sheeps back.

Indeed

Indeed I avoid entering on this Matter here, because I am preparing an Essay upon the Improvement of *Scotland* by it self, which I design for the Publick Service in this very case; but this I undertake to say *before hand*, with respect to the *Wool*, That whether by better Management, your *VVool* might be made as Good as *English*, I do not affirm, tho' I believe it. -- But certainly by your Management there, the *English VVool* might be brought to be every whit as bad as yours.

Negligence and ill Husbandry, will Spoil the best Country in the *VVorld*, and the best Product in the *VVorld*; and *tho'* I am not for finding Fault, yet I must own the Conduct of the Gentlemen in *Scotland* with their Sheep, and *not a little with their Land too*, is one of the most Unaccountable things in the *VVorld*. ---- And if I have the Honour to Dictate some Methods of Rectification in these cases, to their Advantage, whether they make the Experiment or no, I hope no Man will be angry with me, or count me an Enemy to *Scotland*, for showing the way to its Improvement.

But I proceed to the Trade of *Scotland*, and I cannot but enter a little hereinto a short Trifle of Trade, call'd The Trade to *America* or the *West-Indies*, and 'tis very Remarkable and well worth Observation; what pains has been taken to render this as the most Contemptible thing in the *VVorld*, a thing not worth *England's* granting or *Scotland's* accepting, much less a thing that *England* ought to Value her self upon, or so much as suggest that *Scotland* is beholding to her for.

One Author has the face to say, *England* never got any thing by the Trade of the Colonies her self, and if she would give them to *Scotland*, it was not a Gift worth Receiving, nor could *Scotland* be ever the better for it.

I confess these are strange things, and 'tis hard to have to do with some kind of Gentlemen in Trade, who give themselves

a liberty to say what they please, without being Encumbered with, or any way Subjecting themselves to the Bondage of speaking Truth.

And yet this Monstruous Story, as I am told, comes from England, from whence I only draw one Inference, (*viz.*) That this Ignorance is not for want of an Opportunity of knowing better. But there are some Gentlemen there, who have all along carefully furnisht the Town here, with something which no Man durst say, but such as are *out of Sight* as to Blushing, and *out of Hearing* as to Reproach.

The short *Scale of the Trade* from Scotland to the *West-Indies*, consists in these Heads, which when they are right stated, I shall think 'tis easy for any body to Determine whether that Trade is to be carried on to the Advantage of Scotland, yea or no?

First, What you carry out is entirely, if you please, the Product of your own Land, and the Labour of your own People.

2. What you bring home, may, at least $\frac{3}{4}$ parts of it, be again Exported by you to Foreign parts, and the Product by consequence return to you in Money; and if the remaining $\frac{1}{4}$ part is expended at home, 'tis expended in the room of those Goods of the same kind, which you now buy with your Money in England, or with your Goods at a short Advance, and which would otherwise return you Money.

3. What Goods you carry out to the Colonies, are generally Sold there, at the extravagant Advance of 100 per Cent: Profit on the Continent, and if for Loss on the Islands, then great quantities of Bullion are return'd home for them, in the return of which, the Loss is less in Proportion.

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4. All this Trade shall be carried on in your own Ships, furnished with your own Provisions, Built if you please in your own Ports, and Manned with your own Seamen.

Here is Published, *A Letter from some Merchants of the Scots Nation Residing at London*, where this Trade is Estimated to 400000 per Annum, Profit to the Traders of Scotland; and the Guinea Trade to 50000 L. per Annum. I confess in the length of the particulars they Out-do me, and it must be some time before Scotland can carry it on to that high. --- Indeed, I forbear Compting the Advantages of these things, because I do not affect talking of Millions and great Sums. --- But look in to these things, Gentlemen, you that are to be convinc't by Demonstrations, take them to pieces your selves, see if you can avoid Confessing the Advantages; see if such a Trade can be driven without a prodigious Gain, without incredible Fluxes of Wealth to the Nation in General, as well as to the Merchants in particular.

To say, you have no Manufactures fit for the Colonies, or that you must Buy them from England, is to say, you have no Hands, no Wool, no Flax. --- Or to say, you will not make use of them; and certainly if you will not stir, you shall always be Poor. He that will not Eat, must be Starv'd, there is no Remedy.

But why should the Gentlemen, that talk you up so high on one hand, and threaten the great Things you can do another way, talk you down so low in this, as if you were a Nation that had netheir Hands to Work, Heads to Direct, or Understandings to close with Advantages of Commerce and Improvement, when they were put into your Hands.

I allow Scotland is, and has been, under Discouragement both as to Foreign Trade and Manufactures. I allow your Poor are very low, and your Rich Men backward to Launch out. --- And any Man, that takes me in the general scope, will easily see, this was the Intent and Meaning of my Arguing in England, when I wrote the second of these Essays, and Argued, that you

you should be Exempted for some years from the Taxes on Malt and Salt.

And I cannot but think, that Noble Lord, *asking his Lordship's Pardon for this Freedom*, who quoted my Arguments on this head in Parliament, will do me that Justice, that they were all concluded in this very thing ; and had his Lordship thought fit to have quoted but one Paragraph further, it would have appear'd, *Essay II. P. 29.* That Scotland being very low, and the Poor Unable to pay Taxes at all, should be Exempted from the Taxes of Malt and Salt, for a certain term of years.

Now, If I first concluded the Poor unable to bear the Burthen of the Salt and Malt Tax at all, why should I argue for Limited Exemption ?

But on this Supposition, That by the Increase of Trade, Shipping, Manufactures and Labour, the Increase of Wages, and bettering the way of the Poor's Living, would be the Consequence, and then the Taxes would not be equally Burthen-some as now.

In this, if I may be allowed to plead any Merit with Scotland, who am a Stranger, was then in England, and yet moved earnestly for Ease and Exemption for the Poor of this Kingdom, till they should be enabled to pay Taxes, I think I acted a part no Man here ought to blame me for; and 'tis a little hard to draw an Argument from thence, that therefore *they must never be charged at all.*

Without doubt, if Trade in Scotland encreases, Labour will encrease; if Labour encreases, Wages will encrease; for a Demand of Work makes a Demand of Wages of Course.

So that I think, there remains only to prove, that there will be an Encrease of Trade : I think I have perform'd that in part ; I shall be glad to see some other more able Hand perfect my Generals into Particulars by Schemes of Profit and Advantage on the Returns to Scotland, on the Advantages of

building Ships, and consequently a great *Normay* and *Baltick* Trade for Fish out, and Naval Stores home; again, on the Number of Families employ'd at home in Building, Fitting and Furnishing Ships; and lastly, the Nursery of Sea men, and employing them in your own Ships, with the Consequences of such a Trade.

Were due and just Schemes of these things laid down, I cannot but believe the mouths of those People would for ever be stoppt, who lessen and misrepresent the Advantages of Trade which *Scotland* shall obtain.

It is enough however to my purpose, having not room here for Particulars to have laid down this general Scheme of a profitable Trade.

That Trade only can be profitable, which employing their own People, carries out their own Growth or Product, and does not consume all the Returns, but draws in the Surplus to it self in Bullion, and this you do here exactly. To explain this,

I would be glad any Man would state me the following Voyage, suppose a thousand Pound *Sterling* in *Scots* Linnen, and in Woollen Goods sent to *New-England*, *New York*, or *Virginia*, in a *Scots* Ship, and is there vested in Sugars, Mellasses or Tobacco, at the usual Rate of Advance in those Places, which is 100 per Cent, sometimes much more.

If these Returns come safe home to *Scotland*, and being not consumed here, are again exported to *Amsterdam* in a *Scots* Vessel also, and at last the Effects produce 1250 lib. *Sterling* clear of all Charges, which is no unusual nor extraordinary thing.

What Profit does *Scotland* gain by this Voyage? I say, *Scotland*, because we are to examine the Encrease to the Publick Stock, as well as to the private Merchant, in the Discourse we are now upon.

First,

First, Scotland gains all the Profit of the Labour of the People in the Manufactures that were exported, for all the Wages any Person earns in Scotland by his Labour, over and above what his Subsistence cost him during his Labour, is clear gain to the general Stock.

Secondly, Scotland gains all the Profit of the Labour of every Person employ'd on Board the Ship for that Voyage, and of the Labour of all the Artificers, Labourers, &c. employ'd in furnishing that Ship for that Voyage.

Thirdly, All the Provisions expended in the Voyage, and all the Stores carried out, and not brought home, are clear Gain to the Stock of the Nation.

Fourthly, Scotland gains all the Particulars of the same kinds again, on the Ship that carries the Goods away to Holland.

Lastly, Scotland gains the Profit on the foot of the Voyage to the Merchant and Owners.

So that, if the Merchant here clears but 250 lib. by his Voyage, the National Publick Advantage may be 1500 lib. more, in the Freights and Furniture of the Ship and Cargo.

From hence 'tis also worth note, That if 20 such Ships a Year went out from Scotland, it might very well be possible, that the Merchant should not get a Farthing, nay might lose by the Voyage, and yet the Publick National Stock be Gainer at least 25000 lib. *Sterl. per Annum.*

If any Man will *after this* tell me, That Scotland shall get nothing by the Plantation Trade, --- I must own he is no Man for me to talk with, I must leave him to his own Delusions.

I shall conclude this Essay with only one Note about the Popular Objection, That *after the Union* all your Places, Preferments and Offices in the Customs, Excises, Taxes, Army and

and Navy, will be at the Disposal of the *English*, and *English-men* will be put upon you in all those Cases.

It is not for me to determine, who shall or shall not be put into Places of Trust in *this Nation*; I make no question the Government will regard the Recommendation of the Council and of Honest Men here, as it does now in *England*.

But I would have these Gentlemen consider two or three things.

1. Why should the Government be more partial to *England* as to Places here, than at home in their own Country, where a *Scotts-man*, notwithstanding the separate Posture of the Nations, is as capable of Preferment as an *English-man*, and promiscuously preferr'd on all Occasions?
2. Would these Gentlemen be content to retain that Mark of Distinction between the Nations, that *Scotts-men* only should be preferr'd in *Scotland*, and *English-men* in *England*? And would not *Scotland* be vastly a Loser by it, while many of Her Nation are now in Places of the greatest Honour and Trust in *England*?
3. Is it any Mark of *England's* Partiality to *Scotland*, much less of any Distrust of the Nation, That the only three strong Places in *England*, the Keys of Her Wealth, of Her Trade, and of Her Navy, have for above 17 years past been committed to three Natives of *Scotland*, viz. *Tilbury Fort*, the Guard of the River *Thames* and City of *London*, to Colonel *Saint Clare*; *Sheerness Fort*, the Key of *Chatam River* and Guard of the Royal Navy, to Colonel *Crawford*; and *Portsmouth*, the greatest Fortification and Magazin on the South of *Britain*, to Sir *John Gibson*.

Besides, innumerable Gentlemen of the *Scotts Nation*, now in Trust in the Service, *Admiral Mitchel*, *Wishart*, and *Comodore*

modore *Ker* in the Navy, with 6 or 7 Captains in the Fleet, besides Lieutenant General *Steuart*, *Murray* and *Collier* the Lord *Portmore*, his Grace the Duke of *Argyle*, and several others I willingly omit in the Army.

These trusts, Gentlemen, do not favour of Partiality, and are as good Arguments to Ward against the Suggestion, as I think need to be made use of. On the other hand, there is no Question but the Merit of the *Scots* Gentlemen will alwise render them valuable and useful to *Britain*; and as they have alwise had their share of Advancement in all Publick Business, so there is no Question they will be more likely to obtain it now.

I foresee the Debate in the Parliament will have run its length, before the Printer will be pleased to let these Sheets come into the World, which makes me lay by what I had prepar'd to say about the keeping up, or dissolving the *Scots Caledonia* Company.

I Confess, 'tis my Opinion, as I have said already, that your Company, as it was at first Establish'd, could never have been of any Use to *Scotland*, unless by Force you had been able to have reduc'd *Spain* to a Necessity of establishing a Trade with your Colony in *America*, and all the Prospect of a Trade to *India* by the South-Seas, or any other way, without the Help of *England*, could never have Answer'd for want of a Mercat for Goods; the *Dutch* and *French* being otherwise supplied.

But I wave entering on those things here, the present Enquiry is, Why must we lose our Company? Why must we give up all the Privileges of the Company?

If I may be allow'd, without Offence, to speak a little plainly here, perhaps it may touch the Point nearly enough.

First, Who is this *WE*, for it is necessary to distinguish who

who speaks; if it be We the Company, or We the Nation.

If you mean We the Company, the Reason is Direct, you ought to part with your Company and be thankful, and take your Money, and say you have made a good Voyage, since you recover what you had lost. --- You get Principal and Interest, in a Case where I know several of the Members would have been content to have lost all they had paid in, to have been secur'd against paying in any more.

Of all People in the World these are the most Unaccountable; who have Stocks there, and can give very little Account what other things they could ever expect, but the loss of these Stocks, and yet are not for parting with their Company.

All such People can say, is, That if an Union was to come on, and the Company to stand, they might fill it with *English* Subscriptions, and make it a Rival Company in the Trade with the *English*. --- And what would *Scotland* Gain by that? the Trade would be entirely in *England*, the whole Returns there, and all the Consequence would be the pleasure of ruining both Companies, as would have been the certain Case with the two Companies in *England*, if the plain Prospect of it had not made them both Wise enough to Unite.

But 2dly. Let us come to the other Case, We the People of *Scotland*, why should We part with the Company?

First, Gentlemen, any wise People will part with what would be their Destruction to keep.

Secondly, You cannot Unite with *England*, without parting with it, two Companies being Intolerable in *Britain*.

As to the first, --- an *East-India* Company abstracted from
your

your Trade to *England*, would be the Destruction of all your Commerce, for two Reasons.

1. You could export nothing but your ready Money.
2. You would import what you could neither sell in *Scotland*, nor carry Abroad to any Advantage.

The *First* of these needs no Explication, 'tis the Complaint in *England*, and a Complaint not very easily answer'd, and from whence some pretend to say, The *East-India* Trade is a Grievance to *England*, *tho I do not say I am of that Mind neither*: But I am certain of this, that *Scotland* could not bear the Export of their Bullion, at least not now.

As to the *Second*, 'tis evident the Import could not be vended here: And as for Foreign Markets, the *Dutch* are the great Staple --- and what can be imagin'd you can get by them? Some Particulars indeed might be sold in *Spain*, and a little at *Hamburgh*, but far short of enough to support the Trade. The *English* uphold their Trade by the Strength of their Home Consumpt, which is a vast Gulph of Trade; and the Export again is but upon Circumstances and Trifles compar'd to the Gross; and *Scotland* having no Home Consumpt, an *East-India* Trade would be ruinous to them; a *West-India* Trade would involve them in a War, and a War, which I think, without reflecting at all upon *Scotland*, She is very unfit to carry on, having no Naval Force to cope with the *Spaniards*.

Thus either way She is in no National Capacity to carry on the Trade, or to keep up the Company; why then should She not part with it, when good Conditions are to be had for the Exchange, and all her Merchants are at liberty to Trade in the general Stock in *England*, as much as any Merchant there?

2. You cannot Unite with *England* without parting with this Company.

The Reason for this is very plain; Two Companies in *England* had not only almost destroyed one another, but they bid fair for ruining the whole Nation, by dividing all the Parties to one side or other; and influencing all Publick Affairs to their Favour, they became the very Center of all the National Divisions, and all the Factions seem'd to be Incorporated into the two Companies.

Thus the Nation began to be Stock jobb'd into Bargain and Sale; and the Power of two such Rivals made even the King himself concern himself to bring them to Conditions: and the whole Nation was made uneasy by the Agreement, which by this time, had the Breach continued, might have embroild us all. This is a Reason sufficient why *England* cannot Unite, while two *East-India* Companies subsist.

Well, say some Gentlemen, with all our Hearts we dont desire they should let them let it alone.

Why? truly there I believe much of the Case lyes; they that Argue for the having the *African* Company kept up, do it chiefly, that if possible, it might be a Cheque to the Union; and so 'tis the Union, not the Company they are Debating.

As to the Union, Gentlemen, I avoid mentioning it as much as I can, because some People are so Chary, they will not bear to have it mentioned, and I am loth to give any Body Offence.

But in this Case it cannot be helpt, *England* cannot Unite with an open Trade to *India*; She cannot come into the same Confusion as she was in, under two Companies before, it is Inconsistent with her Peace, and with her Trade, and in the End would be so to yours too.

As to them that would not have her Unite, and therefore Argues about keeping the Company, I have nothing to say to

to their Uniting, but never let them bring this as a Difficulty; for let it go what way it will, the Company can never be of any Benefit to *Scotland*; nor shall it be ever true, that by the Union *Scotland* shall not be vastly Gainer.

Well, but says another Gentleman, What if all this be true? must we needs Unite with you, if we do get 300000 *per Annum*, and all the things you talk of? --- *We han't a mind to Unite*: And what then? Why should we be forc'd to it?

No, by no means, say I, I abhor Force; I am laying out the Advantages to Perswade; if Force was to be used, there could be no need of Perswading. --- God forbid I should think, much less talk of *Englands* Forcing *Scotland* to Unite. --- And I have said my mind on that Head to your Advantage long before I thought of coming to these Parts. --- Nor should I expect any Good from such a Compulsion.

But it is a Compulsion of Reasoning, *Argument Constrains*; and such a Force there will be indeed; and you will notwithstanding all this Struggle, whether you Unite or no, come to stoop your Reason to the Force of the Thing, and hereafter, not too late, I hope, own your selves Mistaken.

If you wont Unite, Gentlemen, I cannot help that: but in the mean time do not pretend to Reason it out of your sight, for all manner of Argument is against you; And you can reject an Union upon no Foot, but that of Acting against your own Light, and the Invincible Power of your own Reason.

F I N I S.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

These are to give Notice, That the fourth Essay is to be had at the *Caledonia* Coffee-House, over against the Cross in *Edinburgh*; where also, will be had, the First and Second Essays of the *London* Impression.

to their Exalted and Reverend Grandfather this as a Difficulty, for it is no way it will be Company can never be of any

Well, but says another, "Gentlemen, what if all this be true? must we needs unite with them? will we go so far as to say, and all things you said, that it is worth a sword to fight with them? Why I don't see how to it."

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

